

"It is his Majesty's earnest wish to contribute, by every means in his power, to alleviate the additional burthens which must necessarily be imposed upon his people."—LORD CHANCELLOR'S Speech at the opening of the present session of parliament.

"I beg the House to consider, that the question now is as to a choice of evils, and that money must be raised for the exigencies of the state."—LORD H. PETTY'S Speech, 9th May, 1806.

"The fact is, that we are now placed in such circumstances that we are driven to adopt modes of taxation which must, in some degree, affect the prosperity of one branch or other of our trade or commerce."—MR. FOX'S Speech, 9th May, 1806.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PENSIONS TO THE ROYAL FAMILY.—

On the 2d instant a message from his Majesty, stated to be as follows, was delivered to both Houses of Parliament: "His Majesty having taken into his consideration the Royal Message sent by him to his faithful Commons, on the 8th of April, 1788, recommending to them to enable him to make a competent provision for the younger branches of his family, and that upon this recommendation an Act of Parliament was passed for enabling him to grant certain annuities therein named; but that on account of there being no proviso in that Act for securing the said annuities on the Consolidated Fund, the Act was ineffectual, and failed in its object: His Majesty therefore now recommended it to his faithful Commons to make such provision as was necessary for securing the said annuities on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom. His Majesty could not forbear, at the same time, recommending it to his faithful Commons to make such further allowances, as the circumstances of the times, and the decreased value of money, should render necessary."—Now, who would not, upon reading this, imagine, that the act having failed of its object, the pensions before granted had not been paid by the public? No such failure did, however, arise from any deficiency of the act: the pensions have always been punctually paid; and, as we shall presently see, a way has not been wanting wherein to furnish many of the Royal Children with sums beyond the pensions, so provided for and punctually paid. There was a fund, or a thing, or rather a name, which, for some reason or other, the financiers and their clerks spoke of as an *Aggregate Fund*. This fund, as it was called, has been carried to the *Consolidated Fund*; or, to speak properly, the name of *Aggregate Fund* has been laid aside, and now no name but that of *Consolidated Fund* is made use of; and, as

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to the necessity of a new law, from this cause, in order to secure the payment of the pensions aforesaid, we shall easily judge of that, when we have considered what the Consolidated Fund is. At first, every body is deceived by this name; because every one knows, that a *fund*, in the usual acceptation of the word, means money which has been collected together and put aside to answer some especial purpose; every one knows, in fact, that a *fund* means, money in store; and, when you prefix to it the mighty word *Consolidated*, who would not suppose, that it was a fund become "*firm and solid*" from long and steady growth? The truth is, however, that there is not in existence any fund at all answering to this description, or to any part of this description; the Consolidated Fund is a mere name given to the taxes of the year, which, as we all very well know, are usually spent before they are raised. This being the case, though there might be some inconsistency, as to mere form, in paying pensions granted under a name that no longer existed; yet, in substance there could be no inconvenience arise from it. The pensions have been paid just as regularly as if the name of the fund, or account, had continued; so they might still have been paid; and, as to the security, what act of parliament can render the payment secure, if the means be wanted, or if the will of the House of Commons should change in this respect? And, what informality can possibly render it *insecure*, so long as those means are sufficient, and that will continues unchanged?—The first part of the Message, therefore, can be considered in no other light than as having been brought forward to accompany the latter part, which latter part does, indeed, contain a substantive proposition, and calls for the observations of all those who have the means of conveying those observations to the public. —Were there nothing before us but the Message of His Majesty in its unexplained state, our observations would necessarily be

confined to the proposition, that an addition to the pensions of the younger branches of the Royal Family is rendered necessary, "by the *circumstances of the times*, and by the decrease in the value of money;" but, as the ministers have given their opinions upon the subject; as they have given us their explanation of the Message, we must take that opinion and that explanation into one view, always regarding the Message itself as proceeding from their *advice*, and as being, to all intents and purposes, a thing which *they*, and they *alone*, have caused to be made, and for which they are, and always will remain, responsible.—LORD GRENVILLE, upon a motion, on the 3d instant, for taking the message into consideration, is, in the newspapers, reported to have said: "that his Majesty's Message referred to two points. The one respected the establishment which had been settled in 1778, for the younger branches of the Royal Family, which establishment was then charged upon the Aggregate Fund, and since transferred to the Consolidated Fund. It was not until the death of the Duke of Gloucester, that it appeared that this establishment was made only contingent, and the necessity must now be universally felt of making that establishment permanent and perpetual. Such was the object of the first part of the Message. The object of the second part, which provided for an increase of that establishment, must be felt of *still stronger necessity*.—The *immense difference* which, since that period, had occurred in the value of money, in the price of every article, whether of necessity or of luxury, connected with the propriety of maintaining every thing connected with the due dignity and splendour of the Monarchy, must convince the House of the propriety and expediency of the measure alluded to in the Message, and increase their *surprise*, not that such augmentation should be proposed, but that a period had elapsed without the necessity having *sooner called for such a measure*. He was convinced therefore the House would *cheerfully* concur with him in an address to his Majesty, assuring his Majesty they would adopt the most effectual measures for putting the object of the Message into execution."—His Lordship spoke with confidence; but, it appears, not with a confidence misplaced; for, the House did, *cheerfully and instantly*, without a single word of observation, concur in the proposed address.—In the House of Commons, Lord Henry Petty, in bringing forward the matter,

on the 4th instant, before a committee of the whole House, spoke (agreeably to the fullest report that has yet been published) as follows:—"Lord Henry Petty rose, and observed that with regard to the first part of it, which went to the establishment of the grants on the Consolidated Fund, the object was sufficiently stated, and therefore little explanation could be required. The House would recollect that some time ago grants had been made to the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Sophia on the Aggregate Fund, which had been since transferred to the Consolidated Fund. It therefore became necessary to grant the provision on the other fund. On this subject there could be no doubt, as the object was merely to place the matter on the same footing as before. But the Message did not stop there. He hoped, however, that there would be as little difference of opinion on the latter part, as on the former, as it called merely for an *adequate provision for the Princes*, and no more. It did not include his R. H. the DUKE of YORK, who had *declined most liberally* coming forward on this occasion, as in the *present situation of the country*, he thought he was already sufficiently provided for. With regard to the remainder of the Princes, it would be recollected that a provision of 12,000l. per annum each had been made for them. That was fixed at so early a period as 1788, and he left it to the House to judge, considering the *increased price of every article of life*, and the more advanced age of the Princes, which required a larger establishment to support their rank, whether some augmentation in their allowance was not necessary? He might refer to former precedents, and more especially to that of the late Duke of Gloucester, who had 24,000l. But he did not wish to rest the matter on precedent. All he ventured to propose was, the sum necessary to support their rank and situation. With this view he was to propose that the grants should be increased by one-third, and that instead of 12,000l. to each, there should be 18,000l. a year. He would propose at the same time, that the estimate of the former year, as to the expenses of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, should be laid before the House. This estimate was 6,000l. and he would move that 1,000l. be added to that. As to the Princesses, they were to be placed on the same footing as the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, and have their allowance transferred



“ from the Aggregate Fund to the Consolidated Fund. He concluded by moving, that an addition of one-third to their allowances should be granted, out of the Consolidated Fund, to the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, Sussex and Cambridge. — Lord H. Petty then moved the other resolutions, which were as follows:—For the Princess Charlotte of Wales, during his Majesty's life time, and the life of the Prince of Wales, 7,000 l.—For the Duchess Dowager of Gloucester, for whom no provision has been made, 4,000 l.—For the Duke of Gloucester, raising his allowance one-third, in the same manner as that of the Princes, 14,000 l.—For the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, in lieu of 4,000 l. on the Aggregate Fund, 4,000 l.”

This statement, owing, most likely, to the difficulty of giving, in newspaper haste, a full report of what his Lordship said, is not very clear. The sums now to be annually paid to the *Princesses* is not stated; but, upon the supposition that their pensions are, all together to be augmented in the amount of twelve thousand pounds, the whole of the augmentation now made will amount to **FIFTY ONE THOUSAND POUNDS**; and, let it be observed, that this is 51,000 l. annually; that it is 51,000 l. of income; that it is an annuity of 51,000 l. to be paid out of the taxes every year; and, that, therefore, taking the average of the lives of the Royal Personages at 30 years now to come, the grant about to be made imposes taxes upon us, and upon our immediate children, to the gross amount of 1,530,000 l.—Ought such a grant to be made, or ought it not? This is the question for us to answer: my answer is, that I am decidedly of opinion, that such a grant *ought not to be made*; and, for this opinion, the following are my reasons.—It is stated, in the Message, that this grant is called for by “the circumstances of the times.” This is a very vague phrase; but, if we are permitted to draw any inference from the description of those circumstances, as given in the Speeches, extracted from in my motto, the inference certainly would be, that economy, and not lavishness, that retrenchment and not augmentation of expense, ought to be the main object of the government, in all its branches.—“The decrease in the value of money,” is a reason somewhat more specific, and, I know very well, that money has, since the year 1788, decreased *one half* in value. But, in the first place, be it remembered, that, if money has decreased in value, the taxes have *more than doubled* in

nominal amount. Be it remembered, that, since 1788, the poor rates have been augmented *three-fold*. Be it remembered, that the pecuniary embarrassments of the country have gone on increasing. Be it remembered, that we are continually told, that to make pecuniary sacrifices, sacrifices of conveniences, of comforts, and even of necessities, is now become indispensable for the sake of preserving the throne of our Sovereign and our own liberties; and, why should not the practice upon this precept extend to the Royal Family as well as to the people?—Lord Henry Petty dwelt upon the *advanced age* of the Royal Persons in question; but, I believe, it will appear, that, when their several pensions were settled, they had all arrived at the age, when they betook themselves to *separate establishments*, except the maiden Princesses, and, it is pretty evident, that their expenses can be no greater now than they were then, all of them still making part of the household family of their Royal Father, and all of them liable to come to parliament with a demand, and a fair one, for the means of supporting another state of life.—The advance of age appears to me, therefore, to be no reason at all for the proposed augmentation; and, let us remember (what Lord Henry Petty seems totally to have forgotten) that, the advance of age has not come without its advantages. Most, if not all, of the Royal Sons of his Majesty, receive from the public purse, salaries and emoluments now, to a considerable amount, which they did not receive, at the time their pensions were settled. Whether the Duke of Clarence receive any thing, in the way of his naval profession I know not; but, his Royal brothers and cousin are, all, I believe, *Colonels of regiments*, and are, besides that, either *Governors of Fortresses or Islands or Provinces*, or *Generals upon the Staff*; all which, I repeat, Lord Henry Petty completely overlooked. Since 1788, several *Rangerships*, and other lucrative things have been bestowed upon the Royal persons in question; and, upon the whole, notwithstanding the depreciation of money, their situation is as good, and, perhaps, better, than it was in 1788. It is a favourite mode with ministers, and with some other persons, to take the *bare* amount of the pension to one of the Royal Dukes, for instance, and place it against the amount of a gentleman's income, and then to ask, whether this ought to be; whether, under such pecuniary circumstances, the Royal Duke can possibly support the dignity due to his station. But, not to say how low must be the *nominal* amount

can find out *no means* other than money of supporting *dignity*, this mode of representing the case is fallacious in the highest degree. The Royal Dukes have *palaces*, or *lodges*, they have *gardens* and *parks*, not only rent free, but tax free; and, indeed, when we cast our eyes onwards, from St. James's and its parks, to Hyde Park, to Kensington, to Kew, to Richmond, to Bushy, to Hampton-Court, to Bagshot, to Windsor; when we cast our eyes over these immense domains, situated in the very garden of England, and when we consider the Royal rights enjoyed in Forests and over other lands, are we not tempted to ask, what more can be wanted to the dignity and splendour of the King and his family, however numerous that family may be? Nor should we forget, that, though each branch of the Royal family be separated in point of mere locality from the household family of the King, nothing can cut any branch off from its share of the splendour which belongs to the throne. Do not every younger child of a noble family, though without a penny of fortune, still enjoy a share of the honours of that family? And, where is the man who will pretend, that, in order to support the aristocracy, it is necessary that every younger son of a Lord should have an income equal to, or surpassing, that of any commoner?—Lord Henry Petty says, that the DUKE OF YORK has declined coming forward with any demand upon this occasion, which is as much as to tell us, that he was *invited* to come forward; but, upon what ground such invitation could be given, and especially by ministers, who have made *necessity* the ground whereon to justify the taxes they have imposed, I am quite at a loss to discover. The Duke of York now receives, in pension for himself and the Duchess, 18,000*l.* a year; as Colonel of a Regiment (3 battalions) of Foot Guards, about 6,000*l.* a year; as Commander in Chief about 6,000*l.* a year; what he may receive, as Ranger of two parks and as Warden of the New Forest, I cannot say; but, with his endless number of military attendants, of all ranks and degrees, and with his immense patronage, it were strange indeed if there were still *money* wanted to the support of his dignity! Besides this, I find, in a report of a Committee of the House of Commons, printed in 1802, the following item on the credit side of the Civil List:—
 “By amount of sums advanced to His
 “Royal Highness, the Duke of York, which
 “is to be repaid by instalments of 1,000 *l.*
 “quarterly, from 1st January, 1805,
 “54,000*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*” So that, it appears

from this document, that the Duke of York has drawn 54,000*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* from the public purse, over and above his pensions, pay, and allowances; and, that, according to the statement of the report just mentioned, 48,000*l.* of this money still remains unpaid. Observe, too, that the re-payment is to be so slow, that the *interest* of the money, at 5 per centum per annum, will swallow up five-eighths of the whole of the money repaid. And, was it under circumstances like these that the ministry, that the *Whig* ministry, gave the Duke of York an opportunity of *declining* to come forward with a demand upon the public purse, and that, too, at a time when they themselves acknowledge, that, in imposing new taxes, they are reduced to a choice of evils, and that they are compelled, by the necessities of the state, to impose such burdens as will affect the prosperity of some branch or other of our commerce!—The principle upon which the augmentations have been proposed is, of all others, the most dangerous that a minister could have broached. Mr. Pitt, indeed, was the leader. For many years, he and Old George Rose annually produced the increasing nominal amount of our imports and exports and of the permanent taxes, as an *undeniable proof* of our increasing *riches*; and, as, in their vocabulary, riches always meant power and honour and every thing else that rendered a nation great, they drew, from their tax-office books, a conclusion, that the nation was become greater under their sway than it ever had been before; and that it was actually becoming greater and greater every day. Thus was this whole nation, though full of thinking, men hoodwinked by the statements of a counting-house minister, who himself was too shallow to be conscious of the deception. People did, indeed, perceive, that in spite of all this daily increasing greatness, the word and the name England was daily becoming of less and less weight in the world; and, at the peace of Amiens, they really wondered how it could be; but yet, the *figures* spoke for themselves; they tried the question over and over again by all the rules of arithmetic, and, notwithstanding appearances, they found that Pitt and Rose must be right, and that England must be *greater than ever*! At last, however, in the year 1804, Pitt and Rose being again in office, having, as one of their first jobs (which had been the case with Mr. Addington too), a good decent sum to get voted to clear off the arrears upon the Civil List, part of which arrears, in Addington's case, had arisen from the advance made, without consent of

parliament to the Duke of York; having this job to perform (See PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, Vol. II. p. 902.), being quite at a loss for other arguments, and having received through the Political Register (for that was their tutor), a good sound lesson or two upon the depreciation of money, they screwed themselves up to the avowal, and out it came, without the least remorse as to the exports and imports, without the least regard for that criterion of national greatness; out it came, that the value of money had fallen 60 or 70 per centum. The fact has from that time, become familiar enough. It is now always taken for admitted, and, indeed, it is as evident as any thing can possibly be. But, it does not follow, that, because money has depreciated, the pensions to the Royal Family ought to be raised; for, the causes of depreciation of money have also been causes of great national distress; and, as I think I have shewn before, there have been other means, since 1788, of adding to the incomes of the younger branches of the Royal Family. What renders the augmenting of these pensions, for *this reason*, particularly unwise, however, is, that it is an act of injustice towards *other pensions*, and especially such as have well grounded claims upon the state, unless *their pensions are augmented in the same proportion*. The value of *every* pension, and of every sinecure place, of fixed annual income; in short, the value of every annuity (not excepting those of the *fund-holders*) has, since the year 1788, depreciated one half; and, shall depreciation be, under all the circumstances before recited, urged as a ground for an augmentation of the pensions of the Royal Family, while no augmentation whatever is proposed to be made to the pensions or salaries or grants of any other persons? Twenty years ago a man let his farms at 500*l.* a year. The lease is not yet expired. The 500*l.* are not worth what 250*l.* then were worth. Shall he have no redress? Shall there be no general law upon this subject? Shall it remain with the ministers, and solely with the ministers, to say who shall and who shall not be relieved from the effects of this fertile cause of individual ruin, and of national decay? shall the branches of the Royal Family; shall those who have, by one means or an other, been *compensated* for the loss arising from the depreciation of money; shall they alone meet with the compassion and the liberality of the Commons House of Parliament? Depreciation of money is now, upon the principle of the ministers, a good, a valid, a reasonable, and a strong ground for any pensioner, or grantee whatever, if his

grant be of *fixed* annual amount, to apply to parliament for an augmentation; and, I should like very much to hear the arguments they would be able to invent wherewith to oppose such an application. And is not depreciation of money a good ground for augmenting the pay of all the persons under government, who serve for fixed salaries, particularly that of the *officers of the army and the navy*? Should these gentlemen, who, observe, have received no compensation in any other shape, as the Royal Dukes have, be overlooked, while the pensions of those Royal Dukes are augmented in the amount of *one third* of the original pension? And, the fund-holders, that numerous class of state annuitants, of which there are 250,000 persons whose dividends amount to less than 50*l.* a year each; shall these persons, if the principle of the ministers, now acted upon, be just? shall these persons, whose dividends are now subject to a deduction of ten per centum, have no relief; or, is the principle of origin too sublime to admit of an application so vulgar?—Every one must, I think, be convinced of the impolicy of having acted, *professedly* acted, upon this principle; and, though all is silent as the grave; though not a single voice, my own excepted, should be heard against the measure, men do think (for freedom of thought is what they still exercise), and men will think, that it was, to say the least of it, unnecessary; for, that, if any additional allowance was really wanted for some of the younger sons, or daughters, of his Majesty his Majesty might, in times, like the present, have been advised to that addition *himself* out of those means which he possesses in the public funds. It was noticed in page 808 of Vol IX that, just as the Income Tax Bill was about to pass, a motion was made, from the Treasury Bench, “to exempt from the tax, all stock, “or dividends, the *property of His Majesty*, “in whatever *name* they might stand.” I then expressed my hope, that such a motion would be rendered ineffectual. The House of Commons were of a different sentiment, and the king’s part of the public funds is accordingly, at least it is to be supposed so, exempted from its share of a tax which falls upon the funds and all other property of all his subjects. But, this being the case; it being, by this motion, acknowledged, that His Majesty has property in the funds, where would have been the harm of advising him to apply that property to the use of his children, as in the case with all other fathers; and, if such advice had been given by the ministers, where is the man who will doubt that it would have been cheer-

fully followed? Had I been a minister I would have given such advice; and, had I been a member of parliament, one of the grounds, upon which I would have opposed the new grants, would have been, that the Royal parent of the grantees was possessed of funds unemployed, and not necessary to the support of the dignity and splendour of the throne. It must be fresh in the recollection of every one, that in the year 1802, and again in the year 1804, parliament was applied to for grants of the public money to pay off the *arrears of the Civil List*! that is to say, to pay off the sums that were due to tradesmen and servants, and others to whom money was owing on account of services &c. to His Majesty's Household, the sums annually granted for that purpose having proved *insufficient*. Yet it does appear, from the motion above mentioned, that His Majesty has property in the funds. It is not for me to say, whence this property has been derived; but, I must be of the opinion, that the ministers would have shewn their wisdom and their public spirit, if they had advised their Royal master to employ this money (if any money for such purpose had been wanted) in making to the incomes of his children and his nephew, that addition which is now proposed to be made out of the taxes; and, in this opinion, I am, I think, joined by nine tenths of the thinking part of the nation. —I am very glad to perceive, that, when the resolutions for making the grants above-mentioned was brought up, on the 8th instant, there was found *one member* to express his disapprobation of them. That member was Sir RIDLEY COLBORNE, who said, that he "thought the House should pause, particularly in such a late stage of the session, "and with such thin benches, before it "voted away, in times of distress like the "present, such large sums of the public "money." He added, "that some of the "Royal Dukes were already in possession "of regiments and establishments arising "from various offices, and, therefore, there "was the less occasion for this addition to "their income." Whereupon OLD GEORGE ROSE is, in the news-papers, reported to have said, that, "as to the offices, which "some of the Princes may hold" (nay, they do hold them) "at the Royal pleasure, "they should not be taken into contemplation, when the question was respecting a "permanent provision." No? And, why not? I would ask this true and trusty host of CUFFNELS? Why not? Are not the pensions of Ambassadors, of under-secretaries of state, and others, granted with the express provision, that, if the grantee

should hold any place with a salary equal to the pension, *the pension shall cease during the tenure of such place*? And, what is the reason that the principle, upon which this condition is made, with respect to other's, should not be acted upon with respect to those members of the Royal family who choose to fill places? —I am fully aware of the outcry which these remarks will occasion amongst the numerous tribe of sycophants; I am aware of the charges of *disloyalty*, and, were it not worn out and exploded, I should expect that of *jacobinism*; but, all this I despise, conscious that my motives are upright, and believing that my remarks will meet with the approbation of every *truly* loyal and sensible man. Were it my desire to see ill befall the King and his family, I should hold my tongue upon such subjects as this, or, rather, I should endeavour to cause the number and amount of such grants to be increased a thousand fold; but, convinced as I am, from as much reflection as my mind is capable of, from as much and as close observation and as much actual experience as most men have had to guide them in the forming of their opinions: convinced as I am that *kingly government* is the best of all possible governments; that the constitution of England, unimpaired, is the best of all constitutions; and that whatever specious appearances may exist to the contrary, in any part of the world, it is here in England where men do after all enjoy the greatest portion of real freedom: convinced as I am of this, I am ready to do all in my power for the preserving of this constitution of government; and, though I know that the above remarks will not be palatable; though I know, that they will reach the ear of Royalty in company with the malicious hiss of those sycophants, nest upon nest, whom the sun-shine of a court seldom fails to warm into life, the Royal hearer, may be assured, that he who *tells* them what others *think* is their real friend, and that, in an hour of danger, if such hour should come, they will find one such man worth ten thousand of flatterers.

INDIA AFFAIRS —By a reference to the Index of the preceding Volume, the reader will be directed to all those parts of that volume which contain a connected account of the proceedings, during the present session of parliament, down to the latter end of May, relative to all matters connected with our territories in the East-Indies, and particularly, relative to the proceedings, in the House of Commons, upon the subject of Lord Wellesley's conduct. Since that time; since the CHARGE with respect to

the proceedings in Oude was produced by MR. PAULL (and which Charge, at length, will be found in the preceding volume), several witnesses have been examined at the bar of the House in support of that Charge; but, as far as I have been able to collect from the best reports that have, as yet, been given of that examination, the evidence given by those witnesses is such as not to yield the charge much support. Indeed, the evidence appears to me to be, generally speaking, of very little real consequence. The seizure of one half of the territory of Oude by the command of Lord Wellesley, is a fact which no one has pretended to deny; and, the only question to determine, was, whether that seizure was justifiable by the rules of conduct laid down in the acts of parliament and in the orders of the East-India Company, and by the treaties previously existing between the Company and the Nabob Vizier of Oude. To determine this question, it never appeared to me necessary to call any witnesses whatever; all the documents relating to the whole of the transaction being in possession, or at the command of the House. Whether the Nabob Vizier was a miser or a prodigal, a wise man or a fool, a drunkard or a sober man, whether he was in the opinion of Mr. Ousley, or any body else, *better off* with the half of his dominions, governed under the orders of the officers of the East-India Company, than with the whole of his dominions governed by his sole authority; all this appears to me to have had nothing to do with the matter. The question was a question of *public law*, and, as such, all the official documents once before the House, it was easy to determine it without having recourse to any witnesses whatever.—But, though there does not appear to me to have been any necessity for the examining of witnesses, there was, and there is, a necessity for *all* the documents being in the possession of the House, previous to any decision upon the point, whether there be good ground for further proceedings upon the charge. Yet, the friends of Lord Wellesley, anxious to obtain a decision upon some point, did, on the 3d instant, upon a motion of LORD TEMPLE for the House to go into a Committee to take the Charge into consideration, maintain, that no longer time ought to be allowed for the production of papers. This motion was supported by Mr. CANNING, Mr. PERCIVAL, and SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY. Lord FOLKESTONE opposed it, and concluded by a motion for an *adjournment*, which was supported by DR. LAURENCE, Mr. R.

THORNTON, Mr. WINDHAM, Mr. PAULL, and Mr. W. SMITH. “Mr. WINDHAM” contended that the House was not yet in a “situation to come to a decision; and if he” could believe that his right hon. friend “(Mr. Fox) could have said that the decision must at all events be given this Session, he would say that he had spoken” unadvisedly. The delay, no doubt, might “be painful to the accused, but then this” was the lot of all in his situation. It “was *damnum sine injuria*.” He strongly “disapproved of taking the business out of” the hands of the accuser. If any body “deluded himself so far as to suppose that” a decision of this sort could have any “effect on public opinion, he judged very” ill of the course of public opinion in this “or any other country. If the house,” however, chose to come to a decision in “this state of the case, he discharged himself of all share in it.”—Both the motions were, at last, withdrawn, and LORD TEMPLE, who had, at the outset of MR. PAULL’s endeavours to obtain papers, advised him to “put his motions in his” “pocket,” did, upon this occasion, literally follow such advice.—In all our reflections upon the transactions in India, we should keep in view, not so much any demerit that may belong to Lord Wellesley, as the consequences which these transactions have produced, or are likely to produce; and, of these consequences, the addition to the debt of the Company (which if ever paid, must finally fall upon the people of England) and the injurious impression made against us amongst other nations, are the most material. That those transactions will lead to the imposing of heavy burdens upon us, there can be no doubt; the fact has been proved, and, even at this moment, we are reeling along under a part of those burdens. And, meeting the French negociator with the Oude papers in his hand, how can we look him in the face and seriously remonstrate against the usurpation in Holland and the seizure of Naples? Mr. WHITSHEAD KEENE has cautioned the House of Commons against considering the Sovereigns of India in the same light that they consider the Sovereigns of Europe. This doctrine was, indeed, reprobated by Mr. Fox; and well it might, for, however we may consider those sovereigns, whatever be the distinction that we may choose to make, we may assure ourselves, that no such distinction will be admitted by France, or by any other power. This, indeed, is a curious specimen of political morality: we inveigh against Napoleon for paring away the domi-

nions of this sovereign, and for seizing the dominions of that sovereign; the overthrow of any petty state in Germany, or in Italy, stirs up the very dregs of the gall of our daily, and weekly, and monthly, and yearly writers; but, the fate of the sovereigns of ARCOT, of OUDE, and of many others, claiming the allegiance of *twenty millions* of people, draws not a single word of reproach from any of their numerous pens. Of the power and the dominion of these sovereigns we have been the usurpers and the spoilers; and, therefore, no code of *public law* exists beyond the Cape of Good Hope! TALLEYRAND has told Europe the contrary; and his imperial master has sworn that *there* the same law, be it what it may, shall prevail, that prevails in Europe; and, of this vow, be the reader assured, that we shall feel the effects.—In taking leave of this subject, for the present, I cannot refrain from pointing out the lesson that may be learnt from the *apathy* of the subjects of the Indian sovereigns, owing to which *apathy* it evidently is, that the ruin and disgrace of those sovereigns have been, with so much facility, effected. When we hear of the dethronement, and subsequent death, of the Nabob of ARCOT, we are astonished to hear not a word of the effect produced among his subjects; and, during all the transactions in OUDE, we hear no more of the five or six millions of subjects than if they were five or six millions of birds or beasts. At this we are astonished; we can hardly conceive it possible, that such a number of human creatures, no small portion of whom have arms in their hands, should pass from the sway of one master to that of another as quietly as the stock of a farm is transferred. But, when we come to see, in the description given by Mr. PAUL at the outset of his Charge, (see page 886 of Vol. IX), “That the great renters or farmers-general of the taxes are called Aumils, of whom there are about twenty in number, and to whom the taxes of counties or portions of the country are let; the two principal Aumils being Almas Ali Cawn and Mirza Mehindy, the former having the farm of one-third and the latter of one-fourth of the revenues of the whole country. That there is another class of renters or farmers of the taxes under the Aumils, called Zemindars, a superior class of whom are also distinguished by the name of Rajahs, who rent of the Aumils the taxes of their several townships or villages, each Zemindar being, however, in *his* minor district, a sort of hereditary feudal lord, having his family, his *and* ally

“a fortress to defend himself against the Humil, in case of a quarrel arising from the oppression of the latter, or from any other cause. That from the ryots of husbandmen, and manufacturers, (which character is generally united in the same person), the taxes are collected by their respective Zemindars. That the rent or the taxes is fixed by agreements annually made, first between the Nabob Vizier and the Aumils, who are besides great nobles, composing a part of his court, and, except in the season of collecting, residing in the capital; next between the Aumils and the Zemindars, from whom the former obtain as high a rent as they can prevail on the latter to give; and, lastly, between the Zemindars and their ryots, to each of whom is left out of the produce of his labour, the means wherewith to subsist in a greater or less degree of ease, there being no possibility of his acquiring any thing to which the name of property can apply.”—When we come to see this; and when, upon reading the OUDE papers, we perceive, that the army in the country is raised and maintained chiefly for the purpose of supporting this system of oppression; when we perceive that the soldiers are at the command of the tax-gatherers, and are, when occasion requires, posted round the fields of the husbandmen to prevent them from cutting their crops, until the tax-gatherer has completed his extortion upon the husbandman; when we perceive this, not only does our astonishment at the *apathy* of the people cease, but we feel, and cannot refrain from expressing, joy, that the tyrant, be the cause what it may, is deprived of his power. And, though, upon further inquiry, we should find that the new master is as tyrannical, and that he extorts even heavier taxes, if possible, than the former one, still, justice bids us rejoice, that vengeance has been inflicted on such abominable tyranny; and reason bids us hope, that, if the example should fail of a due effect upon the new master, yet, that, a change having taken place, relief from tyranny may, in the end, be the consequence. Well does it behove all those who have the rule of nations, to reflect on the natural tendency of every system, the effect of which is to diminish the number of proprietors of the soil, well does it behove them to consider, that, in whatever degree the property of men is invaded, impaired, or interfered in, in that same degree is attachment to country weakened; well does it behove them to consider, that subjects, who have nothing to lose, have nothing to fear from an enemy; and, above

all things, it behoves them well to consider, that, though, possibly, some fears of still heavier oppression may, at times, come athwart the minds of a suffering people, yet, that such fears will be but of transient existence when opposed to ever-rankling revenge, accompanied with the hope, which, in such a state, the prospect of *change*, from whatever cause proceeding, never fails to inspire. To all those who have the governing of nations I submit these reflections; and, if they lead to any practical effect, though but in a small degree, the zeal, the activity, and the admirable perseverance of Mr. PAULL, would, though he were to be baffled in his main object, merit the thanks of every good man in the world.

“*DELICATE INVESTIGATION.*”—Under this title (which was taken from the newspapers), and at page 973 of the preceding volume will be found an extract from the *MORNING POST*, of the 24th ultimo, and also some remarks on that extract, tending to shew the baseness as well as the injustice of endeavouring to prepossess the public against the persons who were there said to have preferred certain charges against an “*ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGE.*” By a reference to the extract, it will be perceived, that the writer stated, that he had learnt what had passed in the *Secret Committee* of the King’s *privy council*; and, that, upon the information he had thence derived, he was able to assure his readers, that the report of the said committee would be made in a day or two, and that, in the mean time, the public might be assured that the charge was entirely groundless. From that time to the 7th instant, the same print daily afflicted its readers with an article of considerable length upon the subject; always insisting upon it that the charge was, to use the writer’s own words (which words he has, at last, taken for his title), an “*INFAMOUS CALUMNY*,” and, rising, day after day, in boldness of assertion as well as in violence of language. The glaring falsehoods, the base tergiversation, the impudent and scandalous lying backward and forward, of this the basest of all prints, I have frequently found it necessary to expose to the public; and, disgusting as the exhibition certainly is, I must again perform the task upon this occasion. I noticed, in page 977 of the preceding volume, the preposterousness of the conclusion drawn from the perilous situation in which the accusing parties were said to have placed themselves by making the accusation. The words of the writer were these: “When it is considered, that they have set their lives upon the hazard of the

“die, is not their evidence to be received with the most suspicious caution.” This was written, observe, on the 24th of June, a moment when the gentleman’s law-knowledge enabled him to assert, that, if the charge was not proved, the crime of preferring it was high treason, and would, of course, be punished with death: “if,” said he, “they do not make good their charge they perish.” So that, on the 24th of June, it suited the gentleman’s purpose to argue, that, because the accusers were answerable with their lives for the truth of the charge, it was likely that they had preferred a false charge. But, having, on the 30th of June, discovered that his law knowledge had deceived him, he comes forward, and, with undiminished pretensions to belief, tells his giddy-headed, well-dressed rabble of readers, that the crime of the accusers (for he never hesitates to speak of them as confessed criminals) of the “*Illustrious Fair*” is not high treason, but *Scandalum Magnatum* of an aggravated species; “and,” says he, “when we consider the trifling consequences of failure in supporting the charge, the distrust, with which the accusation should be received, must be obvious to every one.” Thus, on the 24th of June, he tells us to distrust the charge, because it has been preferred at the risk of the accusers’ lives; and, on the 30th of June, he tells us to distrust the charge because it has been preferred at a trifling risk to the accusers! Would any one that was not a witness of the fact, believe it possible that impudence and baseness like this ever existed in the world? I wish to draw no inference, unfavourable to the accused, from this conduct of her advocate; it were unjust so to do; but, assuredly, if a man had been hired to make her cause appear bad (which I hope it is not) he could not have laboured more effectually than this pretended defender has done; and, I appeal to the reader, whether, if this writer be considered as the real friend of the accused, the impression produced by his conduct must not be greatly injurious to her; for, it is absolutely impossible, that a writer, having truth and justice in view, should have so written.—On the 1st instant he renewed his remarks, and assured his readers, that, though the report had not yet been made, it would be made and published in a few days; and, in his previous article, he had insisted upon the absolute necessity of doing this speedily, in order to prevent future RICHARDS from renewing the most shocking and disgraceful events of our history! The article of the 2d of July we must have upon record:—

“ The King comes to town this day, when
 “ the report of the commissioners on the
 “ subject of the infamous calumny against
 “ an illustrious personage, is expected to be
 “ made to his Majesty. From the high in-
 “ terest which the whole country so natu-
 “ rally take in this *important affair*, we
 “ trust, that the report, whenever it is
 “ made, will be *rendered as public*, as it
 “ will be honorable, just, and impartial.
 “ It is reported, that the commissioners
 “ mean to limit their report to a *statement*
 “ *of the evidence*, and not to deliver any
 “ judgment of their own. We hope, how-
 “ ever, that this will not prove to be the
 “ fact. Convinced as we are of the inno-
 “ cence and purity of the illustrious object
 “ of the calumny, we are anxious that the
 “ report should be accompanied by all due
 “ and necessary reflections; and we promise
 “ the public that *THIS TASK* will, at all
 “ events, be promptly undertaken by us.
 “ All that we have hitherto stated upon the
 “ subject, we derived from the *most pure*,
 “ *honorable*, and *incorruptible sources*; and
 “ should the result confirm (as we most
 “ confidently *trust* it will) our information,
 “ and sanction our observations, upon what
 “ we have had *good reason* to pronounce a foul
 “ and infamous scandal, our next duty will
 “ be to insist, that the outraged virtue of
 “ the amiable and beautiful personage,
 “ whose life, and honor have been thus
 “ wickedly attacked, shall be promptly and
 “ exemplarily AVENGED. Her Royal High-
 “ ness came to town again yesterday, and
 “ returned to Blackheath in the afternoon.
 “ She was in *high spirits*, remarkably *cheer-*
 “ *ful*, and never looked more *beautiful*,
 “ *amiable*, or *interesting*. The eyes of all
 “ were fixed upon her as she passed, and
 “ the obvious universal feeling was, that of
 “ the highest admiration and most profound
 “ respect.”—I have marked some parti-
 “ cular phrases here, which I think worthy of
 “ notice; and, upon this article, I shall only
 “ observe, that the secret committee, who,
 “ the writer before told us, had made up their
 “ minds, were unanimous, and were prepa-
 “ ring to report their *decided opinion* in favour
 “ of the accused, have *no opinion* at all to re-
 “ port!—On the 3d of July, he tell us that
 “ the report was expected to be made public
 “ the day before; but, that, at any rate, the
 “ publication of it *cannot be much longer de-*
 “ *layed*; and, that he now “ *looks forward*
 “ to the *prompt* and exemplary punishment
 “ of the calumniators.” One would think
 “ he was a beadle or a hangman, and a hang-
 “ man, too, of some capricious half-savage
 “ despot. He talks like a sub-nabob, and

would, I dare say, have made an excellent
 judge under an Eastern Ruler, of whom the
 world has some knowledge. On the 5th of
 July, he told us that the DUKE of BRUN-
 SWICK was actually coming to England.—
 “ We stated some days since, that the Duke
 “ of Brunswick, father to the Princess of
 “ Wales, was shortly expected in England.
 “ We now find, that a part of his Serene
 “ Highness's suite are *actually arrived*. M.
 “ Teucher, his equerry and M. Damiana,
 “ his *physician*, landed at Harwich on
 “ Thursday, and arrived in town yesterday,
 “ to make the necessary arrangements for
 “ the reception of his Serene Highness,
 “ whose arrival is looked for in the course
 “ of a few days. Some persons suppose
 “ that his visit will be of a political nature,
 “ and that he is coming on a diplomatic mis-
 “ sion from the King of Prussia; but the
 “ more general and rational conjecture is,
 “ that, as his Serene Highness has not for
 “ some time taken any part in the delibera-
 “ tions of the Prussian cabinet, *his visit is*
 “ *connected with the important investigation*
 “ *that has lately taken place with respect to*
 “ *the charges so wickedly preferred against*
 “ *his amiable and interesting offspring*. Upon
 “ this principle, however, we conceive his
 “ journey to be altogether unnecessary.
 “ Justice will certainly be done without any
 “ such interference; but, at the same time,
 “ we are ready to admit, that deeply inte-
 “ rested as the paternal feelings of so *amiable*
 “ a prince must be, nothing can be more
 “ natural than that he should be anxious to
 “ advocate in person the cause of a beloved
 “ daughter, against whose life and honor
 “ so infamous a conspiracy appears to have
 “ been formed.”—To this information was
 “ added the assertion, that the *proof* of the in-
 “ famous calumny would, in a day or two, be
 “ communicated to a discerning and generous
 “ public; and, it is ten to one but the wise-acres
 “ who spend all the day-light of their lives in
 “ strutting up and down Bond Street, were ga-
 “ ping for the report in the MORNING POST of
 “ the 7th; when, lo! in place of the report;
 “ in place of that *convincing proof*, which
 “ the public had been so long looking for, out
 “ came the following master-piece of folly and
 “ of impudence, which I must beg the reader
 “ to go through with patience, promising him,
 “ that I will take up but little of his time with
 “ the comments that I shall make upon it.—
 “ It is now generally understood, that the
 “ report of the important investigation, to
 “ the result and the particulars of which
 “ the public has for some time so anxiously
 “ looked forward, will *not be given to the*
 “ *world*. We shall be sorry to find such a

“determination acted upon, as it will enable the *calumniators*,” [still the *calumniators*!] “who have preferred the charge, to shelter themselves from public indignation, under the veil of state secrecy. The nation, instead of being accurately informed of the precise nature of the accusation, by whom it was preferred, by what motives it was prompted, by what evidence it was supported, what part every one concerned took in it; instead of being, as it ought to be, accurately informed upon all these points, the nation will be left to form its own conjectures upon every one of them. *No wonder, that, if in such a latitude rumours should exist extremely injurious to some very exalted characters*, who, it is most material to the satisfaction of the public, should stand altogether clear of any concern in the transactions that have led to the investigation. Conjecture is a thing so incapable of restraint, that it will always be more active, in proportion as any attempt is made to restrain it; and it is ever sure to penetrate into those recesses from which particular care is taken to exclude it.—It is now an *undeniable and ascertained fact*, that the accusation is *unfounded*. We are censured for having asserted and maintained, that the first intimation of it proceeded from malice and calumny, and that the greater part of the testimony adduced in support of it, and *falsified by the result of the investigation*, sprung from the same corrupt and wicked sources. In the reserve that prevails with respect to the report, the calumniators may hold up their heads, malice may vaunt itself for patriotism and loyalty, and false accusation for truth. We must, therefore, restrict ourselves to general terms. But that there has been malice, that there has been calumny, that there have been many other wicked ingredients in the patched up charge, which *has been so fully refuted*, the world may rest assured. What is most material to be shewn is, that there has been no encouragement, no invitation to the fabricators of the charge; that there has been *no subornation*. We are informed, from a *very respectable quarter*, that two anonymous letters have been received at different periods by a gallant officer, whose name has been much mentioned in the universal conversation that has prevailed upon this subject. These letters held forth immense advantages, in return for, and as an inducement to the disclosure of any matters tending to criminate the il-

“lustrious personage, the purity of whose conduct has now been established by the strictest investigation. In the indignation which must have fired any manly mind upon the perusal of so base a proposition, the first letter was torn to pieces; but on reflection the fragments were collected and rejoined: and this letter as well as the second is still in existence. The second letter followed the first at the interval of some months, and expressed surprise that no notice had been taken of its precursor; it stated the proposition, which it renewed in still stronger terms, *to come from high authority*, and that a gentleman would call that evening for an answer. But no one did call. Anonymous letters are uniformly the issue of the basest minds; but in this instance they are worthy of mention, *because they PROVE that some malicious disposition was early and steadily active in instigating, and raking up matter of crimination against the illustrious personage*. Much more has come to our knowledge, which places it *beyond a doubt*, that malice and calumny have been the principal agents in the crimination; and therefore it is that we are so anxious for the publication of the proceedings, that the share every one has taken may be made known, and that they may be judged accordingly; that the calumniators, and the *instigators* may suffer the detestation and the punishment they so well merit; and that those who have acted fairly and honourably may not suffer from being involved with the base, in a business, the general character of which is such as to excite the highest degree of public odium.”—

Now, as before, I, for my part, give *no opinion*, upon the truth or the falsehood of the charge, whatever the charge may be. But, I again say, that this advocate, or pretended advocate, of the accused, discovers nothing but weakness and impudence. He told us, day after day, that we should have *proof* of the truth of his assertions. What has he given us as proof? Why, more assertion, only with a little more impudence. *What* “*exalted characters*” he would wish to cause it to be believed have been the *instigators* of the accusers; *who* has, as he insinuates, been guilty of the base crime of “*subornation*,” it were useless to conjecture; for, if his assertions, day after day, are *proved* to be false, who will pay any attention to his insinuations? But, though we have no report though we are not to indulge the *hope of having any*; though we have *no proof* of any kind, we

have a very pretty story about two anonymous letters, professing to come from "high authority," instigating the receiver of them to a crimination of the "Illustrious Personage;" and, this we are to consider as *proof*, that some malicious disposition has, for a long time, been at work to rake up matter of crimination against the "Illustrious Personage." But, first stating that I would be understood as by no means giving belief even to the story itself, let me ask the reader how the bare existence of these anonymous letters can be so twisted and tortured as therefrom to spin this conclusion? Any body can produce anonymous letters: anonymous letters can be written and sent by a friend, as well as by an enemy: in fact, they are, and can be, no evidence at all; they can furnish no proof of any sort, or of any degree, unless there exist along with them some circumstance leading to a proof of their *origin*, which, in the present instance, is not pretended to be the case. I like not this story. It appears to me to be evidently intended to mislead and deceive the unreflecting part of the public; and, though I consider it as coming solely from the writer in the *Morning Post*, though I consider it as a mere fabrication of his, I must say, that, as far as it reaches, it tends, like the contradictory arguments noticed at the outset of these remarks, to do great injury to the cause which he affects to wish to support.—Whether the report is *finally* to be published, or not, I have not heard, nor can I even form an opinion with respect to it; but, if a publication of some sort do not take place, it will remain for this writer, supposing him to continue his task, to assign an adequate, or, at least, a probable, *motive for the suppression*. He may tell us, that we "may rest assured," that it is "an undeniable and ascertained fact, that the accusation is unfounded;" he may tell us, that "the charge has been *fully refuted*;" he may tell us, that "much more," besides the story of the anonymous letters, "has come to his knowledge, which places it beyond a doubt, that malice and calumny have been the principal ingredients in the crimination;" but, still we shall hanker after a *motive for withholding a publication of the proof*, convinced, as we must be, that there can be no person in the world, endued with common sense, that will regard the bare assertions of a newspaper writer, and particularly of a writer of this description, as at all tending to effect the main object which is here professed to be had in view.—I repeat, that I give no opinion whatever upon the merits of the case. I cannot. I have

no evidence before me; and, as to presumptive evidence furnished by the general character and deportment of the Illustrious Personage, said to be accused, I can *know* nothing at all of either. My wish is, that the accusation, whatever it may be, may prove false; but, if it do not prove false, my wish is that *strict justice* may be done, as, in the other case, I wish strict justice to be done upon the false accusers. No man ought to suffer his mind to be warped, in such a case, by any respect of persons, or any veneration for rank. There is but one law in England; that law makes no distinction between the high and the low; and, when we hear men, laying law and justice and reason aside, declaim in a strain of high-flown liberality, we may be assured, that their declamation proceeds from a silly compliance with a fashion which is the effect of enfeebling luxury, or, from partiality bottomed in a slavish or an interested motive.—*Botley, July, 10.*

ARTICLE OF CHARGE OF HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS COMMITTED BY RICHARD COLLEY MARQUIS WELLESLEY, IN HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE RAJAHS AND ZEMINDARS IN THE DOAB; AND PARTICULARLY IN HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE RAJAH BUGWUNT SING, ZEMINDAR OF SASNEE AND BIDJE GHUR, AND THE RAJAH KAKOOR ADDKEERIN, ZEMINDAR OF CUTCHOURA.

That Richard Colley Marq. Wellesley was constituted, appointed, and actually became a servant of the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, in the month of Oct. in the year of our Lord 1797, and in the reign of His Maj. the 37th. That the Office which he was appointed to fill was that of Governor General of Bengal, and subsequently that of Captain General of all the King's and Company's Forces serving in the British Territories in the East Indies. That he arrived, and took possession of the Government committed to his charge, in the month of May 1798; and that he continued to fill, and to exercise the powers of the said Office and Offices until the month of Aug. 1805, when he was therein superseded by Charles Marq. Cornwallis.—That in the Countries which the said Marq. Wellesley had unlawfully, perfidiously, and tyrannically extorted from the Nabob Vizier of Oude, dwelt several tributary Chieftains called Rajahs, greatly respected by the Sovereigns, and highly revered by the People of Hindostan, being descended from the ancient Hindu Rajahs or Princes, who had resided in that country before the Mussulman conquest, having

from time immemorial possessed strong fort and populous towns independent of Government, and maintained, with undiminished influence and power, numerous vassals and adherents, whose personal bravery and attachment to their Lord were unimpaired, and, though owing allegiance to the Nabob Vizier of Oude, possessing princely rights, and honours, and estates, which had descended to them unquestioned through a long time of venerable ancestry, and which their Sovereign could neither alienate nor destroy.—That, on taking possession of the Countries which he had so iniquitously extorted from the said Nabob Vizier, the said Marq. Wellesley did determine upon the humiliation of the said Rajahs, the ruin of their families, the destruction of their forts, and the seizure of their towns; a measure unjust and unwise in itself, and dangerous to the tranquillity of the Country, a measure which, even in the proudest days of Mussulman despotism, had never been attempted.—That, for a series of years, it had been the custom of the Country for the said Rajahs, in the quality of Zemindars, to rent of the Nabob Vizier himself, or of his great Aumils, the lands surrounding their hereditary estates, which were again let by them to the Ryots or husbandmen, by whom they were cultivated: the rent required of the cultivator being always, according to the liberality or avarice of the Zemindar, proportionate to that at which the lands were held of the Aumil, or of the Nabob Viziers.—That, in furtherance of his determination respecting the said Rajahs, the said Marq. Wellesley, he having also determined, contrary to every principle of equity and humanity which should have actuated a British Governor, to impose new and heavy burthens upon the already overburthened People of the said extorted Countries, did, by the means of his brother, the Hon. Henry Wellesley, whom he had illegally appointed Lieut. Gov. of the said Countries, and other unlawful agents, require of the said Rajahs and Zemindars an enormous increase of the rents which they had theretofore paid: an exaction calculated to produce great discontent among the said Rajahs and Zemindars, and, by the oppression which it would infallibly drive them to exercise towards the Husbandmen, to reduce those useful and unfortunate men to the extreme of poverty, wretchedness, and want.—That, taking advantage of the reluctance which the said Rajahs and Zemindars naturally felt to accede to the said oppressive and tyrannical requisitions, and making their reluctance a pretext for the execution of his long-meditated views respecting the said

Rajahs and Zemindars, the said Marq. Wellesley did declare all those who did not submit to the said requisitions to be in a state of disaffection or rebellion to the Govt.; a Govt. which was notoriously an usurpation, and to which the said Rajahs and Zemindars had never acknowledged any allegiance, and to which they owed no obedience.—That, true to the character of an Usurper and a Despot, disdaining to conciliate acquiescence where he had the power to compel submission, the said Marq. Wellesley did, to the disgrace of the British Arms, call in British Troops to enforce his said unlawful, unjust, severe, and arbitrary demands upon the said Rajahs and Zemindars.—That the greater part of the said Rajahs and Zemindars, some intimidated by threats, and others overawed by the presence of the military, some yielding to numerous bodies of troops which surrounded their fields and prepared to assail their mansions, and others actually attacked, conquered, and subdued, some conscious of the hopelessness of resistance, and some terrified by the awful example of others, were finally compelled to submit, in the most humiliating and abject manner, to all the said unlawful, unjust, severe, and arbitrary demands of the said Marq. Wellesley.—That those of the said Rajahs and Zemindars who had the hardihood to resist the oppression of the said Marq. Wellesley were treated as rebels and enemies, expelled from their homes and driven from their Country, their towns being plundered or burnt, their fortresses demolished or held by their enemies, and their estates confiscated for the use of their conquerors.—That thus, in violation of all law and justice and humanity, and to the disgrace of the British Name in India, were the said Rajahs and Zemindars, the descendants of the most ancient, the most princely, and the most venerable families in Hindostan, degraded, oppressed, ruined, or destroyed by the said Marq. Wellesley and his illegal agents.—That, among those of the said Rajahs and Zemindars who had the misfortune to incur the displeasure and the vengeance of the said Marq. Wellesley was the Rajah Bugwunt Sing, Zemindar of Sasnee and Bidjehur, a Hindu Prince residing in the extremity of the Doab, on the North-western frontier of Oude, the head of a powerful tribe, surrounded by a numerous and warlike body of vassals and adherents, whom the personal bravery and private worth of their Chief had strongly attached to his fortunes, beloved by the whole Country, on account of the equity and the liberality of his character, possessing an extensive district, several considerable towns,

and two strong forts, from which he took his title, and able to bring twenty thousand men to the field.—That the said Rajah Bugwunt Sing had for a long time farmed the jumma (or land revenue) and the sayer (or duties) of the surrounding districts, under Almas Ali Khan, one of the great Aumils of the Nabob Vizier, for regular terms of three years, conformably with the practice which prevailed throughout that part of the said Nabob Vizier's territories.—That the said Marq. Wellesley, in pursuance of his before-mentioned unjust determination respecting the said Rajahs and Zemindars, and in pursuance of his before-mentioned unjust determination to increase the burthens of the People of the said extorted Countries, did, by means of his before-mentioned unlawful agents, require of the said Rajah Bugwunt Sing an enormous increase of the rents which he had before paid, did positively insist upon the separation of the jumma and the sayer, and did declare that he would grant no engagement to the said Rajah, either for the jumma or the sayer, for more than one year.—That the said Rajah, Bugwunt Sing, naturally averse to a measure so injurious to his own interests, did, in the most respectful and conciliating manner, state his objections to the two last-mentioned conditions of the said proposals.—That the Collector of the district, who was employed as the agent of communication between Rajah Bugwunt Sing and the before-mentioned Hon. Henry Wellesley, whom his brother, the said Marq. Wellesley, had illegally appointed Lieut. Gov. of the said extorted Countries, did at the same time write to the said Hon. Hen. Wellesley, telling him, that, “after the difficulty he had experienced in endeavouring to carry his orders into execution (generally), that he did not expect to be able to induce the Zemindar of Sasnee and Bidjeghur to engage for the sayer separately for one year, without having recourse to very serious measures against him; but that he hoped that he would be induced to engage for it, were the period extended to three years.”—That the said Hon. Henry Wellesley, without making any attempt to gain the acquiescence of the said Rajah, either by negotiation, conciliation, or persuasion, without attending to the suggestions of the said Collector for effecting an amicable settlement, and without any further correspondence or communication with the said Rajah or the said Collector, did immediately request the Commander in Chief of the army, who was then stationed in the said extorted Countries, to send, without any

delay, a sufficient force to punish the “contumacy” of the said Rajah.—That the said Commander in Chief did accordingly dispatch a large body of Troops under the command of a Lieut. Col., which, on the 12th of Dec. 1802, took a position before the Fort of Sasnee, where the said Rajah then was, and made formidable preparations for attacking and reducing it; and thus commenced an unjust and cruel War against the said Rajah.—That the attack was continued with various success until the 7th of Jan. 1803, when a detachment of the assailants, after setting fire to the Town, and thus wantonly extending their vengeance to the quiet and harmless Villagers, fell upon a party of the said Rajah's troops, and slew great numbers of them; and thus began the lawless and barbarous slaughter of the said Rajah's brave and faithful adherents.—That the warfare was thus carried on until the 15th of Jan. when an unsuccessful attempt was made to carry the Fort by assault; and this failure having been attended with some loss, and having brought great discredit on the British Arms, the Commander in Chief, on the 31st of Jan. appeared in person before Sasnee, at the head of a powerful reinforcement.—That more vigorous preparations were accordingly made, the most effectual means taken to prevent the escape of the said Rajah, and the admission of succours; and, on the 8th of Feb. another attack was made upon the Town, and another dreadful slaughter of the said Rajah's brave and faithful followers ensued.—That, on the night of the 12th of Feb., the said Rajah, discouraged by the loss of so many of his Troops, alarmed by the magnitude and the extent of the preparations which were making for his destruction, unable to oppose any further effectual resistance without exposing himself and his People to the risk of being wholly destroyed, and justly averse to falling into the hands of his avaricious, rapacious, tyrannical, and blood-thirsty enemies, taking advantage of the uncommon darkness of the night, and followed by many of his adherents, fled from the Fort of Sasnee, and, thus banished from the Country of his forefathers, took refuge in the Country of the Mahrattas. That others of his adherents, have attempted to take shelter in his Fort of Bidjeghur, were, to a man, most barbarously cut to pieces by the British Troops who surrounded it.—That, on the 13th of Feb., the said Commander in Chief, not satisfied with the devastation and carnage which had already been made, posted the Army under his command before Bidjeghur, stationed them in such a manner as to prevent the garrison

from escaping and from receiving any succours, and, after having summoned the Killedar, Rajah Ram Chobbie, to deliver up the Fort, upon the promise of sparing the lives of the garrison, and after having refused to grant the said Killedar a few days to obtain the consent of his Master the said Rajah Bugwunt Sing, made preparations for storming the Fort.—That, on the night of the 27th of Feb., the said Killedar, incapable of holding out against the attacks of the assailants, and unwilling to give up those who had been entrusted to his care to the merciless enemies of his Chief, availing himself of the uncommon darkness of the night, and of a heavy rain, led the garrison out of the Fort, and, after being attacked, and having many of his followers killed, and great numbers taken prisoners, with much difficulty succeeded in making his escape with the rest.—That the expulsion of the said Rajah Bugwunt Sing and his adherents being accomplished, his Forts were taken possession of by those who had accomplished it, and all his estates and property of every kind were confiscated for the use of the aforesaid usurped Govt.—That thus was the said Rajah Bugwunt Sing, Zemindar of Sasnee and Bidjehur, a Hindu Prince of great worth and courage, the descendant of one of the oldest and most respected families in Hindostan, solely from an unwillingness to consent to the oppressive and unjust demands of those who had extorted the Territories, and usurped the Government of his Sovereign, treated as a rebel and an outlaw, attacked in his own mansions by a powerful military force, driven in exile, as a criminal and fugitive, from the countries where his forefathers had from time immemorial lived in greatness and splendour, his brave and faithful adherents driven from their families and their homes, dispersed among strangers and enemies, or most wantonly and most barbarously slaughtered, his towns laid waste, his forts seized, and all his possessions for ever wrested from him, and confiscated for the benefit of his avaricious, his unprincipled, and relentless destroyers.—That another of the unfortunate victims to the rapacity, the cruelty, and the tyranny of the said Marq. Wellesley, and his unlawful agents, was the Rajah Kakoor Addkeerin, Zemindar of Cutchoura, a Hindu Prince of venerable ancestry, of great bravery, of large possessions, the Chief of a powerful and numerous body of vassals and adherents, and, for many years, a ruler of very considerable districts in the Doab, under Almas Ali Khan, the great Aumil of the Nabob Vizier of Oude.—That, conformably with

the before-mentioned determination which the said Marq. Wellesley had long formed, respecting the humiliation of the Rajahs and Zemindars, and in pursuance of the before-mentioned determination which he had also formed of imposing new burthens upon the People of the extorted Countries, an enormous increase of rent was imposed upon the said Rajah, and very degrading concessions were exacted from him; which after some respectful hesitation on his part, and some imperious menace on the part of the agents of the said Marq., were agreed to: the said Rajah, intimidated by these threats, "having consented to acquiesce in any terms "which might be proposed."—That an arrangement was accordingly made, and a settlement agreed to; and the said Rajah was about to give up his guns and ammunition, and evacuate his fort of Cutchoura, conformably to the humiliating and oppressive terms which he had been compelled to accept, when some misunderstanding taking place in consequence of the insolence and indignity which were offered to the said Rajah, by the person who came to enforce the fulfilment of the said stipulations, and in consequence of a gross outrage committed on some of the said Rajah's people by some of the Company's Troopers the Soldiers of the said Rajah, justly indignant at such conduct, were unwilling to give up the fort under such disgrace, and prepared to resist.—That the Commander in Chief, with the Army under his command, fresh from the slaughter of the hundreds who had fallen by their hands at Sasnee and Bidjehur, immediately took up a position before Cutchoura, a strong and well-garrisoned fort, where the said Rajah and all his Family were, and made preparations for an assault.—That the said Rajah, anxious to soften the displeasure and avert the enmity of his assailants, and solicitous to prove his adherence to his agreements, and his submission to their will, on the 7th of March wrote the following respectful letter to the said Commander in Chief: "In consequence of a message received from Mr. Russell, I waited upon "him at Mecitchy, and accompanied him "from thence to Aksooly, and accepted "the terms of settlement which were proposed to me for the districts of Dihooliser "and Cutchoura, and obtained leave to proceed to Cutchoura, for the purpose of "sending out the guns and ammunition. I "admitted the Company of Sepoys, which "came along with me into the fort, intending early in the morning to go to Mr. Russell with all the guns, &c. Mr. Russell came to the fort very early in the

“ morning, and, in terms of anger and reproach, ordered me to evacuate and deliver up the fort, desiring me to go immediately, and take my People with me, and treated me with great disrespect. Perceiving this, my Soldiers conceived it improper to quit the fort under such circumstances of disgrace, and prepared to resist. Just then the Sepoys went away. Soon afterwards the Dewan Sooka Loll and the Mulavi arrived from Aksooly, and having restored peace to my mind, they departed. A short time had elapsed, when four or five Troopers galloped after two or three of my People, whom they wounded with their swords, and thus began hostilities. My People seeing no alternative, fired two or three matchlocks. My evil destiny has created this misunderstanding. I never meant to wage war, nor do I now. You are Master and Ruler of the Country; if, out of your great bounty, you will cast a favourable eye on me, and allow me to reside in this place, it will be an act of great mercy and kindness. I am ready to pay the stipulated revenue, to be perfectly obedient, and never to shelter myself behind any excuse; and whatever you shall order respecting me shall be fulfilled.”—That to this letter, explaining so minutely and so faithfully the causes of the misunderstanding that had taken place, and testifying so fully the great regret which that circumstance had produced, expressing in such mild and submissive terms, the willingness of the said Rajah to do whatever might be required of him by those whose displeasure he so sincerely deprecated, and whose favour he so earnestly courted, and, from its unaffected and ingenious simplicity, so well calculated to excite, not merely the clemency, but the compassion, and the good will of the humane, the generous, and the just, the said Commander in Chief, on the same day, returned the following harsh, severe, and haughty answer: “ After having so wantonly broke your faith in refusing to evacuate and deliver up the fort of Cutchoura, agreeably to the terms of your agreement with Mr. Russell, and treated the troops who went with you to receive possession of the place with harshness and contempt, turning them out of the fort, and thereby proclaiming war, the only terms which can now be granted are, that you shall deliver up the Fort, the Garrison, your Children, and yourself, to the Commander in Chief, to be disposed of as he shall judge proper. No promise of future favour to you or your People is to be un-

derstood to be granted. If these terms are accepted, they must be fulfilled by sun rise to-morrow morning, and the Garrison are to leave their arms in the fort, and march out unarmed.” That these terms so degrading, so insulting, and so barbarous, so unworthy of a British General to demand and of a Hindu Prince to receive, not being complied with, the said Commander in Chief, on the following day, proceeded to attack the Rajah's fort.—That the said Rajah, having withstood these attacks for several days, and being at last convinced of the hopelessness of resistance, awed by the terrible example of the Rajah Bagwant Sing, seeing no safety but in flight, justly averse to the ignominious surrender of himself, his Children, and his People to his cruel, rapacious, and implacable enemies, and driven to despair by the unrelenting severity of his assailants, did, on the night of the 12th of March, with his whole Family and several thousands of his faithful followers (as is thus described in a letter from the said Commander in Chief to the said Marq. Wellesley) “ rush out of the fort, with an intention of forcing their way through a chain of posts by which they were surrounded, when they were immediately attacked by the advanced parties, and pursued for four miles with great slaughter: Hunsarage Sing, the second Son of the Rajah, the Rajah's Dewan, and four of his principal Commanders, being among the killed; and the number of private men who fell being very great.”—That the Family and followers of the said Rajah being thus inhumanly massacred, and himself driven from his Home and his Country with the rest, his forts were taken possession of by the Conquerors, and all his estates and property of every kind confiscated.—That thus was the said Rajah Kakoor Adkeerin, Zemindar of Cutchoura, a descendant of the ancient Princes of Hindostan, after being insulted with the most humiliating and barbarous proposals, attacked by a powerful army in his own fortress, driven from the Country where his ancestors had for many generations lived in princely grandeur, to wander as an outcast among strangers, his Son, his Dewan, his Commanders, and great numbers of his vassals most wantonly and most inhumanly massacred, and the rest dispersed or taken captive, his villages laid waste, his fields ravaged, his forts seized, and all his possessions for ever wrested from him, and confiscated for the use of his avaricious, his unprincipled, and his relentless destroyers.

To be Continued.